

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 AECE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

OIC-04 OMB-01 EB-11 DRC-01 /175 W  
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P R 061607Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9107

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17564

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: SHAPE FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, EEC

SUBJECT: MBFR: LINKAGE OF PHASES, BUNDESWEHR "REDUCTIONS"  
AND EUROPEAN CONSULTATIONS AT VIENNA

REF: (A) BONN 17221, (B) VIENNA 9981, (C) VIENNA 9980

BEGIN SUMMARY: FONOFF AND, FOR THEIR PARTICULAR  
REASONS, DEFMIN OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY FAVOR  
INDICATING PRUDENTLY TO SOVIETS AT VIENNA THAT WEST  
WOULD BE READY TO DISCUSS DURING MBFR-I THE QUESTION OF  
LINKAGE BETWEEN TWO MBFR NEGOTIATING PHASES. OFFICIALS  
IN BOTH MINISTRIES SHARE U.S. DEL WISH TO EXPLOIT  
SOVIET INTEREST IN CLOSE LINKAGE IN ORDER TO CAST FOCUS  
OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN JANUARY TOWARD WESTERN CONCEPT  
AND PROPOSALS. DEFMIN WISH TO MESH SCENARIOS FOR MBFR II  
AND BUNDESWEHR FORCE STRUCTURE PLAN CONTINUES TO

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ATTRACT FONOFF SKEPTICISM. INCIPIENT SIGNS OF EUROPEAN

MBFR CAUCUS AT VIENNA APPEAR TO BE ESSENTIALLY OUT-  
GROWTH OF GROWING WEST EUROPEAN DESIRE TO CONSULT ON  
SECURITY ISSUES OF DIRECT IMPORT TO EUROPEAN UNION.  
END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING UP ON NOV 29 CONVERSATION (REF A), ADMIRAL  
STEINHAUS CONTACTED EMBOFF DEC 4 TO SAY THAT DEFENSE  
MINISTRY HAD IN THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS ACCORDED SOME  
CAREFUL STUDY TO SOVIET COMMENTS ON AND U.S./FRG DEL  
VIENNA DISCUSSIONS OF LINKAGE BETWEEN TWO PHASES OF  
MBFR. STEINHAUS SAID HE WISHED TO INFORM US THAT DEFMIN  
OFFICIALS STRONGLY FAVOR FLASHING PRUDENT SIGNAL TO  
SOVIETS AT VIENNA ALONG LINES OUTLINED TO AD HOC GROUP  
BY AMBASSADOR BEHREND (REF B). STEINHAUS EXPRESSED  
JUDGMENT THAT SUCH A WESTERN APPROACH COULD DRAW SOVIETS  
INTO DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS, STARTING EARLY NEXT YEAR,  
WHICH WOULD FOCUS ON INITIAL REDUCTIONS OF U.S./SOVIET  
FORCES AND WOULD ALSO ENCOMOASS OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE  
ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL.

2. FONOFF REPS TOLD EMBOFF DEC 5 THAT THEY ALSO FAVOR  
PRUDENT STEPS ON LINKAGE ISSUE DESIGNED TO GAIN SOVIET  
ACCEPTANCE TO FOCUSING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS INITIALLY ON  
U.S./SOVIET REDUCTIONS. FONOFF REPS SHARE U.S. DEL MBFR  
VIEW (REF C) THAT THIS APPROACH COULD FACILITATE ALLIED  
ACTIC OF SUBSEQUENTLY LEADING SOVIETS TO ACCEPTANCE OF  
COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE, TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN TWO  
CLOSELY LINKED NEGOTIATING PHASES. WHILE MANY TOUGH  
ISSUES WOULD REMAIN, INCLUDING INTER ALIA SOVIET  
DESIDERATA ON NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCE ELEMENTS AND  
ASYMMETRIAL REDUCTIONS DEMANDED BY WEST, FONOFF REPS  
BELIEVE INITIAL PRUDENT GESTURE ON LINKAGE ISSUE IS  
ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP IN BRINGING SOVIETS AROUND. ACCORD-  
INGLY, BEHREND WAS AUTHORIZED TO ADVANCE THE PROPOSAL  
OUTLINED IN REF B.

3. COMMENT. DEFMIN OFFICIALS OBVIOUSLY ARE ATTEMPTING  
TO EXPLOIT CURRENT SOVIET DEL PREOCCUPATION WITH SECOND  
MBFR PHASE IN ORDER TO NAIL DOWN IN THE MOST CONCRETE  
POSSIBLE FORM AND AS EARLY AS FEASIBLE THE ALLIANCE  
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COMMITMENT TO A SECOND MBFR PHASE INVOLVING BUNDESWEHR  
REDUCTIONS, A LONGSTANDING FRG DEFENSE MINISTRY OBJEC-  
TIVE. THIS DEFMIN INTEREST AND POSTURE COULD OF COURSE  
IN TURN BE UTILIZED, AS SUGGESTED BY U.S. DEL MBFR  
(REF C), TO FOCUS MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF  
GREATEST INTEREST TO USG - INITIAL REDUCTION OF U.S./  
SOVIET FORCES; THIS LATTER CONCLUSION EVIDENTLY APPEALS  
TO FONOFF, AS INDICATED IN PARA 2 ABOVE. ARGUMENT

CAN ALSO BE MADE IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT DEFMIN DESIRE TO MOVE NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS DIRECTION WOULD BE BEST SERVED BY TREATING CONSTRAINTS DURING RATHER THAN PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS, AN APPROACH THE DEFMIN SO FAR HAS BEEN UNPREPARED AT LEAST FORMALLY TO ACCEPT (BONN 17415).

4. OUR MOD SOURCES HAVE NOT YET EXPLAINED VERY CONVINC-

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P R 061607Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9108

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 17564

INGLY WHY THE USSR SHOULD BE READY TO ACCOMMODATE THE PET DEFMIN SCHEME WHEREBY ALREADY PLANNED CONVERSIONS OF SOME 30,000 BUNDESWEHR SOLDIERS TO "READY RESERVE" STATUS, BY 1978, WOULD COUNT FOR BUNDESWEHR "REDUCTIONS" IN MBFR II: (SEE BONN 13927, PARA 2, FOR SKEPTICAL VIEW OF AMBASSADOR BEHREND'S ON THIS SCORE). SOME SUCH FORM FOR BUNDESWEHR "REDUCTIONS," IF EVENTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS, COULD TEND TO MEET CONCERNS OF WESTERN ALLIES SUCH AS THE BRITISH AND EVEN THE FRENCH,

WHO HAVE BOTH EVINCED SPECIAL CONCERN REGARDING REDUCTIONS OF EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES. IN VIEW OF THIS ALLIED CONCERN, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT WIECK AND STEINHAUS ALWAYS PRIVATELY EMPHASIZE TO US THAT MINISTER LEBER'S GOAL IS TO BRING THE BUNDESWEHR INTO MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN A CONTROLLED MANNER IN ORDER TO OFFSET GERMAN PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL AND POTENTIALLY LESS CONTROLLABLE REDUCTIONS IN THE FRG DEFENSE BUDGET (BONN 16684 - LIMDIS). IN ANY CASE, SUCH QUESTIONS ARE BOUND TO OCCUPY CONSIDERABLE TIME DURING  
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CAUCUSES OF THE SEVEN OF NINE EC MEMBER STATES--LESS FRANCE AND IRELAND--WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

5. FROM THE BONN PERSPECTIVE, AND GIVEN THE LIKELY CONTINUATION OF THE EUROPEAN DIALOGUE OVER DEFENSE COOPERATION AND EXTENSION OF FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATIONS TO SECURITY FIELD, AN INCIPIENT EUROPEAN MBFR CAUCUS IS PROBABLY BEST UNDERSTOOD AS AN EFFORT TO FASHION A RATHER REGULAR FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF MBFR ISSUES OF DIRECT IMPORT TO THE WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION MOVEMENT. MOREOVER, THE RECENT CSCE HISTORY IN MIND, IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING IF THIS MODEST EUROPEAN CAUCUS REVIEW OF MOST KEY MBFR ISSUES, PERHAPS WITH EVENTUAL PARTICIPATION BY FRANCE IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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